



# THE KEYNOTER



## A CHOICE, NOT AN ECHO

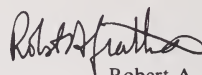
THE 1964 CAMPAIGN OF BARRY GOLDWATER

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Celebrating Independence Day once again should remind us of the importance of political items in the history of our nation and the role of our hobby in reminding America of its rich political past. We have an obligation to share our knowledge and storehouse of political items with our fellow citizens. This can be accomplished through displays and talks to school groups, youth groups, clubs and luncheon groups, libraries and the news media, exhibits at commercial establishments (banks, savings and loans, department stores, etc.) and other opportunities too numerous to list. We must take the initiative.

In 1987, the U.S. will celebrate the bicentennial of the Constitution. Plans are already starting to be made for exhibits and programs in communities in every state. It is not too early to talk to your local and state representatives to ensure that you and your collection will be a part of the festivities.

In March, the membership was asked to vote on a By-Laws amendment that would realign the election of APIC officers with the new odd-year APIC national convention schedule. The vote tabulation appears in the APIC News section on Page 26. What is most notable about the vote, however, is that over 500 members participated—more than double any previous vote total in our history. The Board and officers of APIC thank you for your resoundingly positive vote, and your willingness to participate in the election process.



Robert A. Fratkan

## EDITOR'S MESSAGE

My original message dealt with the outstanding value of the 1964 Barry Goldwater campaign to collectors on limited incomes, especially beginners in our fraternity—because it produced so many thematic buttons and other items that are common and inexpensive and yet possess real historical significance. And then I learned of the death of my friend Leon Weisel and decided to write of a different kind of value; the value Leon provided this hobby through his energy, personality, decency, and fundamental sense of right and wrong.

A pioneer in the field of political auctions, Leon remained to the end the most eclectic of auctioneers. In one of Leon's auctions, one could always find side by side expensive treasures and such odds and ends as stacks of aluminum ashtrays. Instead of sending out invoices, Leon was the last of the old breed to mail items up front. Instead of adding in a fee for postage, Leon trusted bidders to figure it in on top of the bill. He showed the same faith in human nature in his personal dealings. Knowing my fondness for early glass and ceramics on a teacher's salary, he would bring superb items from his own outstanding collection to meetings, hand them to me at bargain prices, and tell me to pay him when I could. It was often several months, but never even the gentlest of reminders. At Carlisle in 1980 he careened through a crowded lobby, nearly colliding with several people, to show me what he had brought for me wrapped haphazardly in old newspaper—four priceless Henry Clay cup plates, two of them the only specimens of their type known to exist.

If Leon was normally the gentlest of men, he was capable of magnificent anger if his sense of decency was violated. Many of the prefaces of his earlier auctions dealt colorfully and mercilessly with such vermin as the makers and sellers of fakes and gougers of novice collectors. When an article in the newspaper of the now defunct National Political Button Exchange struck Leon as "anti-Negro, anti-NAACP, and entirely uncalled for," his wrath was simply beautiful.

I will miss him.



Roger Fischer

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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**Illustrations:** The Editor would like to thank Robert Fratkin, David Frent, Gil Gleason, Ted Hake, Martin Hauser, Bob Hultkrantz, Michael Kelly, H. Joseph Levine, Preston Malcom, Michael Meiring, Dr. Morton Rose, Ned Ruhstaller, The Smithsonian Institution, Joe Wasserman and the Western Reserve Historical Society.

**Covers:** Front—Celluloid 9" button, gold/black/white; Back—Reverse paper iron-on T-shirt image, black/white.

**IN THE NEXT ISSUE**

The Fall *Keynoter* will feature articles on four twentieth century cause movements—woman's suffrage, ERA, Watergate and the nuclear freeze. Many previously unpictured buttons and 3-D items will be shown. Other features will include the APIC Postcard Project and Q & A.



# A Choice, Not An Echo

## THE 1964 CAMPAIGN OF BARRY GOLDWATER

by Michael Kelly

The 1964 presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater makes a fascinating story for political historians and collectors alike. 1964 was a year of real social upheaval in America, with the civil rights movement beginning to come together to oppose our involvement in a strange and distant land called Vietnam. While Americans were enjoying economic prosperity unmatched in our history, the Cold War kept alive the sobering threat of nuclear annihilation. 1964 was a year when skirts grew shorter, hair became longer, and a band of western conservatives seized control of the Republican party to launch Barry Goldwater's campaign to challenge the hitherto sacred canons of the New Deal general-welfare state.

Who was Barry Goldwater? Descended from a Jewish peddler who left Poland to seek prosperity in the American wild West, he had good cause to believe in the traditional ideals of individual liberty, fair play, and self-reliance. Born in the Arizona Territory on January 1, 1909, he grew up in the wide open spaces of the sparsely populated desert Southwest long before it experienced its great population boom. He graduated at the top of his class at the Staunton Military Academy in Virginia, but was unable to accept an appointment to West Point when the unexpected death of his father forced him to return to Phoenix to run the family's successful department store. A conscientious citizen, Goldwater was elected to the Phoenix City Council in 1949 on a reform ticket. He played a major role in desegregating the Phoenix public schools and the Arizona National Guard, ironic in light of 1964 charges that he was a racist by supporters of Lyndon Johnson, whose own record on civil rights was rather negative until he became Senate majority leader! In 1952 Goldwater ran for the Senate against Ernest McFarland, LBJ's predecessor as majority leader, and with the help of the Eisenhower coattails pulled off a major upset. He was re-elected in 1958 and began to emerge as a leading spokesman for conservative political theory. Such conservative intellectuals as William F. Buckley and Brent Bozell began ghosting articles, columns, and books under his name and

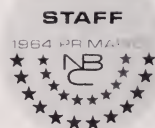
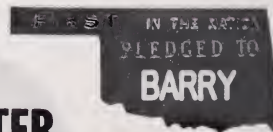
he developed into a very popular speaker on the political circuit. By 1960 Goldwater was becoming something of a cult hero to the American conservative community.

1960 was the year that the Goldwater for president movement really began. He addressed the South Carolina state Republican convention and met with a reception so enthusiastic that the state GOP committee endorsed him for the Republican nomination and pledged to him the support of its national convention delegates. Goldwater then arranged to become the favorite son of the Arizona delegation as well, although he realized that Richard Nixon was certain to be the party's 1960 nominee. This 1960 boomlet produced a few items, including a 1 1/4" blue and white "GOLDWATER FOR PRESIDENT" celluloid and an Emress 7/8" blue and white "BARRY GOLDWATER FOR PRESIDENT" cello. But Nixon's only serious challenge in 1960 came from Nelson Rockefeller. While the GOP platform committee labored in Chicago, Nixon and Rockefeller met secretly in New York to barter platform concessions for an uncontested Nixon nomination. Goldwater bitterly denounced the deal as "an American Munich," but then helped squelch an incipient conservative revolt, inspiring in the process a button reading "GOLDWATER SAYS DON'T DODGE/ Vote NIXON and LODGE." When Arizona put his name in nomination, he took the podium to withdraw it and urged conservatives, "If we want to take this party back—and I think we can some day—let's get to work!"

"Some day" would not be long in coming. In 1961 Clifton White, a longtime powerbroker in the Young Republicans and director of organization for the Volunteers for Nixon-Lodge, put together the nucleus of what would become the Draft Goldwater Committee. With no direct contact with Goldwater (or even his consent), White's cadre developed into the most technically astute organization in the history of American presidential politics, one that would literally rewrite the book on how to win a nomination.



THE  
**GOLDWATER**  
Band Wagon  
is ROLLING ALONG  
Hop On!







This draft committee was responsible for the three basic Goldwater buttons utilized throughout the nation in 1964, a 7/8" gold and black picture lithograph, a 1" lithograph with a white arrow (pointing to the right, of course) on a red field, and a 3 1/2" red, white, and blue "GOLDWATER IN '64" picture celluloid. In 1961 a Goldwater nomination seemed most unlikely. Polls showed him as the choice of only a handful of Republicans, far behind Nixon and Rockefeller. Goldwater personally regarded Rockefeller's nomination as almost inevitable. He did not seem filled with lust for the presidency. During one of his frequent visits to the White House to chat with his old friend Jack Kennedy, Goldwater tested out the famous Kennedy rocking chair—both men suffered from back problems and their physician had recommended a rocker for Goldwater as well—while waiting for Kennedy to return. When he walked in and saw Goldwater in his chair, the President quipped, "Do you want this job?" "No, not in my right mind," replied Goldwater.

Three major events during the next two years made Goldwater the leading contender for the 1964 Republican nomination. The first concerned Richard Nixon. After losing by a razor-thin margin to Kennedy in 1960, Nixon's chances for re-nomination were excellent until he was soundly defeated in 1962 for the California governorship and then disgraced himself in a post-election press conference display of paranoia and rage. The second event concerned Nelson Rockefeller. In 1961 he had divorced his wife of thirty years. But was easily re-elected in 1962. But when he announced that he had married the recently divorced Happy Murphy in 1963, matters became messy. Due to a complex situation with her former husband, Happy had surrendered legal custody of her children, casting Rockefeller in the role of a home-wrecker in the eyes of many Americans. A Gallup poll taken before his remarriage gave him a 46%-26% lead over Goldwater among Republicans; one taken shortly afterwards gave Goldwater a 35%-30% lead. The third event was the assassination of JFK in Dallas on November 22, 1963. Both Kennedy and Goldwater had looked forward to running against one another in 1964, Kennedy because he knew he could hardly lose and Goldwater because the contest would provide a classic liberal/conservative confrontation that he would enjoy. Now the race would be against Lyndon Johnson, whom Goldwater looked upon as "the biggest faker in the United States."

Blocking Goldwater's path to the nomination was Nelson Rockefeller, bloodied but not ready to surrender, and many darkhorse contenders. Nixon still yearned for the nomination but would never declare. Governors William Scranton of Pennsylvania and George Romney of Michigan were talked of, but neither was willing to declare (although both kept control of their state delegations as favorite sons). Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Nixon's 1960 running mate, serving in Saigon, was the choice of many Eisenhower intimates but lacked a political base. Former Minnesota Governor Harold Stassen entered the race, looking for the first time inherently foolish. Maine Senator Margaret Chase Smith made a declaration of candidacy but drew little support. Favorite sons Gordon Allott of Colorado, John Byrnes of Wisconsin, Hiram Fong of Hawaii, James Rhodes of Ohio, and Walter Judd of Minnesota emerged to spare their state parties the bruising consequences of a Goldwater-Rockefeller confrontation.

Clifton White's draft committee was absorbed into the apparatus of the Goldwater for President Committee when Goldwater formally entered the race, but its years of grassroots organization would yield tremendous results. Conservatives who had never been involved in politics before came out in huge numbers to precinct caucuses and county conventions and eagerly

FOR OUR REPUBLICAN FRIENDS

# GOLD WATER

THE RIGHT DRINK FOR THE CONSERVATIVE TASTE

a new citrus flavored carbonated drink



volunteered to knock on doors, pass out literature, and man telephone banks. This grassroots activity—the heart of the conservative revolution of 1964—brought hundreds of national convention delegates into the Goldwater camp while the attention of the media focused on the far less significant but more visible primary battles.

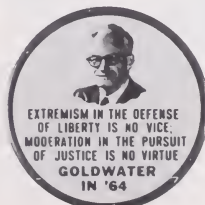
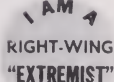
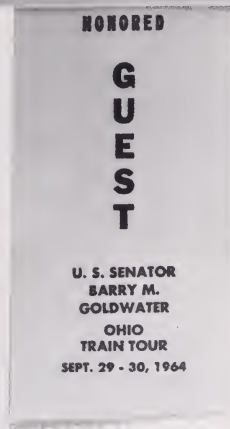
In the New Hampshire primary Goldwater first encountered the image problems that plagued him through election day. A direct, straightforward man given to the blunt manner of expression common to his native West, Goldwater spoke man-to-man to New Hampshire Republicans in a style that played well in farm parlors and Manchester fire halls but made him appear a trigger-happy nuclear madman when repeated by the national media. His suggestion that the United States “lob one into the men’s room of the Kremlin” brought an appreciative chuckle from his small audience, but cast him as a real-life Dr. Strangelove when quoted on the CBS Evening News. This was a trait that cost him dearly throughout the campaign. Desperate to avoid defeat in his native Northeast, Nelson Rockefeller mounted attacks on Goldwater as a reckless extremist that eroded Goldwater’s support but did little to increase his own. On primary day New Hampshire Republicans shocked the nation by rejecting both Goldwater and Rockefeller for the write-in candidacy of Henry Cabot Lodge.

In the meantime, however, Goldwater quietly won enough delegates in district conventions in Oklahoma, Kansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina to give him a 54-14 delegate advantage over Lodge. After defeating Margaret Chase Smith in Illinois and Harold Stassen in Indiana by margins of better than two to one in primaries largely ignored by the media because of the light opposition, Goldwater’s growing delegate count enabled him to bypass liberal Oregon. There, he finished third with 18% while Rockefeller pulled an upset that kept his beleaguered candidacy alive and put an end to the Lodge effort. With only three weeks before the crucial California primary, Goldwater now trailed Rockefeller in the polls but Clifton White’s grassroots activity had put him to within 105 delegates needed for the nomination. California was a bitter contest, with Goldwater and Rockefeller locked in an abrasive struggle in which charges of immorality, extremism, big spending, and nuclear carelessness

were tossed about like ping-pong balls. It was probably decided by one of those odd quirks of history when on May 30, just days before the balloting, Happy Rockefeller gave birth to Nelson Rockefeller, Jr. and rekindled the whole business of Rocky’s remarriage. Goldwater squeaked to a 1,089,133 to 1,030,180 victory that brought him all 86 California delegates and the nomination.

The price of victory had probably made the nomination almost worthless. Goldwater had been branded from coast to coast as an extremist, a dangerous warmonger who would reinstate Jim Crow segregation and wreck Social Security. In a convention fight as bitter as any in recent memory, Goldwater’s opponents would continue to attack him long after the battle was lost. Neither they nor Goldwater would benefit from it. The “stop Goldwater” movement began to form within days of the California primary. Eisenhower summoned William Scranton to Gettysburg for a meeting and urged him to enter the fray. Scranton agreed and was set to formally announce his candidacy on *Face the Nation* when Ike called to explain that he wasn’t actually endorsing Scranton, just urging him to run. Scranton went on the air and spent a miserable half hour repeating the same evasions he had been mouthing all year. In Cleveland a group of Republican governors gathering support for Scranton, led by Romney of Michigan and Rhodes of Ohio, watched in dismay. Nixon joined their efforts to





draft a moderate candidate. After Romney returned home Rhodes and Scranton decided he should be that candidate and sent Nixon to Michigan with the news. Romney refused and the Republican establishment looked ridiculous. Scranton was finally goaded into declaring his candidacy by Goldwater's decision to oppose the pending civil rights act, but it was too late, for Goldwater's efficient organization now had enough firm commitments from delegates to guarantee him the nomination.

Despite the futility of their cause, the "stop Goldwater" forces carried the fight to the San Francisco national convention. A challenge from Scranton staffers to Goldwater for a public debate reflected the intensity of their hostility toward him:

"You have too often casually prescribed nuclear war as a solution to a troubled world. You have too often allowed radical extremists to use you. You have too often stood for irresponsibility in the serious question of racial holocaust . . . Goldwaterism has come to stand for a whole crazy-quilt collection of absurd and dangerous positions that would be soundly repudiated by the American people in November."

Such rhetoric changed no votes, for Goldwater's organizers had manned precinct meetings throughout America working to win delegates. All during 1964, in state after state, governors, senators, and party chairmen had been denied delegate seats because they were not supporting Goldwater. In their places came housewives and hardware store owners who did. Many had come to San Francisco for only one reason, to nominate Barry Goldwater for the presidency. Many Goldwater loyalists responded in kind to the moderates. Rockefeller's appearance before the convention to support a resolution condemning extremism brought a prolonged display of frenzied abuse that seemed to make his case for him. Televised across the nation, it was a powerful moment that did further harm to the Goldwater cause.

The outcome of the balloting gave Goldwater 883 votes—228 more than he needed—and the nomination. Scranton won 214, Rockefeller 114, Romney 41, Smith 27, Judd 22, Fong 5, and Lodge 3. In his acceptance speech it became clear that Goldwater was not ready to forgive and forget to unite his party. In one unforgettable line (underlined on his copy and set in italics when the speech was later reprinted by the Republican National Committee), he answered the GOP moderates who had labeled him an extremist: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice; moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." A staffer moaned, "My God, he's going to run as Goldwater." In his command post outside the convention hall Clifton White shook his head, knowing that his candidate was refusing to make an accommodation to those who had opposed him. Another indication was his selection of New York Congressman William Miller, a go-for-the-throat combatant whose hardline conservatism was a mirror of Goldwater's, as his running mate. The ticket offered geographic and ecumenical balance (as Miller quipped, "I'm a Catholic and Barry's a Jew and a Protestant—Anyone who's against this ticket is a damned bigot"), but no olive branch for the moderate wing that had ruled the party for a generation. It seemed as if victory was a secondary consideration to revenge over those who had maligned Goldwater as an unbalanced buffoon on the road to the nomination.

In the months that followed Goldwater was never able to take the offensive, although he tried mightily. He raised such issues as the growing federal bureaucracy and the correspondingly mushrooming national debt and tried to focus public interest on Johnson's creative personal finances and the aura of shady dealings that always seemed to surround him. He often alluded to scandals involving Johnson aide Bobby Baker and acquaintance



Billy Sol Estes, but his fundamental decency (largely lost on a public that saw him as a menacing maniac) would not permit him to make an issue of the arrest of Johnson advisor Walter Jenkins for a homosexual incident in a Washington YMCA restroom. The Goldwater campaign was hardly a study in opportunism. He attacked Social Security before an audience of senior citizens in St. Petersburg, Florida, criticized farm price supports in Iowa and welfare programs in poverty-stricken West Virginia, and suggested turning the TVA over to private interests in Knoxville, Tennessee! Local Republican candidates began avoiding Goldwater when he came to their states to campaign, but the uncompromising senator made no effort to soften his approach.

Goldwater's image as a trigger-happy extremist and his penchant for politically damaging statements suited Lyndon Johnson's campaign perfectly. Johnson was still riding an awesome wave of personal popularity after taking over from his martyred predecessor and a nation experiencing trouble in its inner cities and still haunted by the menace of the Cold War could hardly be expected to replace the Texan with a man so widely perceived as dangerously capricious. While Johnson delivered cautious platitudes tailored to the political center, his campaign exploited Goldwater's image problems mercilessly. One monumentally tasteless Democratic TV commercial showed a little girl picking flowers in a field, followed by a nuclear explosion and a solemn warning that Goldwater might cause a nuclear war. Such tactics did much to keep alive the impression that Goldwater would only wait to push the button long enough to kick Granny off Social Security!

The election was a crushing defeat, laying to rest (for sixteen years, at least) the notion of a hidden conservative majority. Lyndon Johnson won the largest share of the popular vote in history (61%) and carried every state but Goldwater's native Arizona and the five Deep South states of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia. Goldwater lost New York by more than 2,250,000 votes, Pennsylvania by nearly

1,500,000, and Michigan, Ohio, and California by more than a million each. He took only 19.1% of the vote in Rhode Island and his best showing in the whole Northwest (a region less than pleased by his recommendation that it be cut off and floated to Europe) was a mere 36.4% in New Hampshire. Goldwater's coattails proved disastrous to such odds-on congressional Republican favorites as Oklahoma football coach Bud Wilkinson and Ohio's Robert Taft, Jr. The Democrats swept both houses of the Congress, giving LBJ a grip on the reins of federal power unparalleled since that enjoyed by Franklin Roosevelt thirty years earlier.

The Goldwater campaign may have been poor politics, but it inspired superb material culture. Many 1964 Goldwater campaign items faithfully mirrored the strident conservatism of the campaign itself. Four buttons, a flasher, and a tab featured arrows pointing rightward and a button asked "WHAT'S WRONG BEING RIGHT?" Buttons proclaimed "CHOICE NOT CHANCE," "A CHOICE FOR A CHANGE," and "A CHOICE NOT AN ECHO." Bumperstickers insisted "GOLDWATER OR SOCIALISM," posters read "VICTORY FOR AMERICA," and three varieties of buttons allegedly issued by the John Birch Society urged "VICTORY OVER COMMUNISM." Goldwater's acceptance address manifesto began such buttons as "I'M EXTREMELY FOND OF BARRY," "I'M AN EXTREMIST/I LOVE LIBERTY," and "I AM A RIGHT-WING 'EXTREMIST.'" Cans of "Gold Water" promoted the soda as "THE RIGHT DRINK FOR THE CONSERVATIVE TASTE" and bars of "Gold Water" soap touted it as "THE SOAP FOR CONSERVATIVE PEOPLE/4-YEAR PROTECTION."

Goldwater's name provided unique opportunities for the creators of campaign items. Enough gold colored items surfaced to make one think it was 1896 and the McKinley gold standard campaign. Buttons read "GOLD FOR GOLDWATER" and "IN GOLD WE TRUST." Other buttons featured glassfuls of gold



**STAFF**  
Goldwater-Miller  
1964 Campaign



**STOP  
SOCIALISM  
AND  
CORRUPTION**

☆☆☆☆★  
**ELECT DECENCY  
AND COURAGE**

☒ **VOTE  
GOLDWATER**





water and bubbles containing liquid with gold flakes. The most commonly used play on Goldwater's name was the use of the chemical symbols for gold (Au) and water (H<sub>2</sub>O) to promote the candidate as "AUH<sub>2</sub>O." Buttons, license plates, bumperstickers, tie tacs, lapel pins, and soap were among the "AuH<sub>2</sub>O" items issued in 1964. Goldwater's surname inspired buttons with such slogans as "IT'S BARRY PICKIN' TIME" and a "bare-e" rebus design featuring a naked woman with her body arched in the shape of a lower case letter "e." A clever lapel pin combined a strawberry, gold nugget, and droplet to form a rebus of his full name. Goldwater's distinctive horn-rimmed glasses were featured on many 1964 objects, including buttons and little golden elephant and donkey (Democrats for Goldwater) lapel pins. Several buttons using heart designs echoed his campaign slogan "In Your Heart, You Know He's Right."

As was perhaps inevitable in such a strident contest inspiring such intense emotions on both sides, a huge number of put-down items were produced in 1964. A few of the anti-Johnson items were official headquarters pieces, but most were distributed by independent conservative groups or commercial vendors working the various Republican campaign activities. Buttons attacking LBJ's "Great Society" as "A NEW LEECH ON LIFE," an "ABOMINABLE SNOW JOB," and an opportunity to "SERF YOURSELF" were given out by the Young Americans for Freedom, as was a variety picturing "THE LBJ COCKTAIL—AMERICA ON THE ROCKS." Other buttons featured such insults as "LET'S PUT AN HONEST MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE," "HALF THE WAY WITH LBJ/THE TALE OF A TALL TEXAN," "LYNDON'S BRIDGE IS FALLING DOWN," and "GET R.I.D. OF L.B.J." Bumperstickers read "BIG LYNDON IS WATCHING YOU" and fabric pin-on badges insisted "TAX PAYERS FOR GOLDWATER/FREELoaders FOR JOHNSON." Buttons lampooned Lady Bird Johnson with such insults as "KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL—HIDE LADY BIRD." LBJ's rather supercilious outdawn on White House lighting to show his frugality inspired a splendid "TURN OUT LIGHT BULB JOHNSON" caricature cello and bumperstickers and buttons

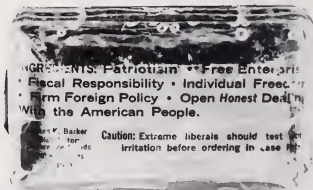
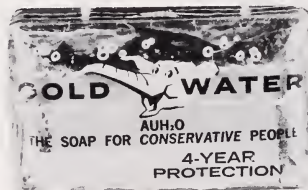


urging "LIGHT BULB JOHNSON/TURN HIM OUT IN NOVEMBER." Scandals involving Bobby Baker inspired several creative buttons and the Walter Jenkins incident a few items, including a large and garish variety quipping "ALL THE WAY WITH LBJ, BUT DON'T GO NEAR THE YMCA." This was probably not the most tasteless anti-Johnson item to appear in 1964, however. That honor should go to the license plate marketed by a Doraville, Georgia, company for sale at southern truck-stops that featured a monumentally pregnant black woman admitting "I WENT ALL DE WAY WIF LBJ."

An equally large and creative array of anti-Goldwater objects played up the theme that the Republican nominee was a threat to both prosperity and peace. Bumperstickers insisting "GOLDWATER FOR POVERTY" and buttons predicting "GOLDWATER IN '64/HOT WATER IN '65/BREAD & WATER IN '66" (and many variants) lampooned Goldwater's laissez-faire economic blueprint for America. His pronouncements on the general-welfare state inspired "GOLDWATER IN 1864" buttons and his alleged insensitivity over civil liberties led to "GOLDWATER FOR FUHRER" buttons. Bumperstickers dismissed Goldwater as "BILGEWATER" and "BERI BERI." A button sneered, "Mets Rooters! Edsel Owners! Back a REAL LOSER—GOLDWATER." Other anti-Goldwater buttons lampooned his main campaign slogan as "IN YOUR GUTS YOU KNOW HE'S NUTS" and the 1964 pendant for political chemistry with the formula (" $\text{C}_5\text{H}_4\text{N}_4\text{O}_3$  on  $\text{AuH}_2\text{O}$ ") (quite literally, uric acid on gold water).

The most creative but inherently unfair—also probably the most politically effective—1964 anti-Goldwater items exploited widespread perceptions of the Republican nominee as a latent warmonger whose magical solution to world problems was the nuclear button. Bumperstickers warned "BARRY G. AND WORLD WAR III" and buttons bore such slogans as "BAN THE BOMB AND BARRY" and "HARI-KARI WITH BARRY." Other buttons featured mushroom clouds and the slogans "WHAT—ME WORRY?" and "GO WITH GOLDWATER." Linking Goldwater with the leading character in the nuclear tragicomedy "Dr. Strangelove" were "DOCTOR STRANGEWATER FOR PRESIDENT" and "NO GENERAL STRANGEWATER FOR AMERICA" celluloids.

In 1964 Barry Goldwater inspired more fear in more Americans than any major-party presidential nominee since William Jennings Bryan in 1896, and on election day he paid the price for his "damn-the-torpedos" style of campaigning. Within hours the pundits were proclaiming the death of the Republican party. It was, of course, far from dead. Just two years later the GOP made a stunning comeback in the mid-term elections and in 1968 a discredited Lyndon Johnson was forced to yield his party's nomination (as New Left students wore "GO WITH JOHNSON" mushroom-cloud buttons identical to the ones used to lampoon Goldwater in 1964) and watch from the sidelines as the Republicans captured the White House and the voters of Arizona returned Barry Goldwater to the Senate. Since his political resurrection he has won the admiration of moderates and liberals (to his great amusement, no doubt) for his role in preserv-



Soap Bar



Plastic Doll



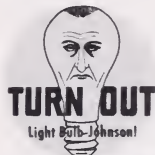
Paper Halloween Mask



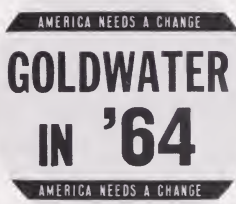
Green Plastic Statue

ing constitutional government during the Watergate crisis and more recently for his typically acerbic denunciation of Jerry Falwell's "Moral Majority" as self-appointed guardian of our public morality. In 1980, although slowed down by declining health and barely returned to a fifth term in the Senate by the

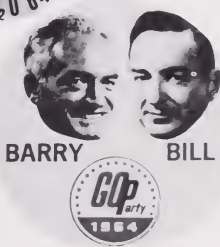
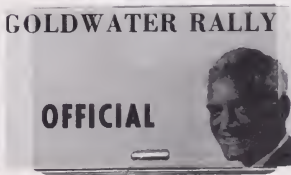
voters of Arizona, he had the satisfaction of watching an actor whose political career was born in the closing days of his 1964 campaign for the presidency at long last bring the basic tenets of Goldwater conservatism to the Oval Office. Living well, it has been said, is the best revenge. ★



LYNDON B.  
**JOHNSON**  
FOR  
**EX-PRESIDENT**



GOLDWATER & MILLER





# Goldwater Coattails

by Robert Rouse

Throughout the 1964 campaign the public opinion polls indicated that Barry Goldwater would be overwhelmed by Lyndon Johnson. From the shortage of coattail buttons inspired by Goldwater's presidential effort, one may well infer that Republican candidates were loath to link their name with his. This attitude contrasted sharply with that in 1964 Democratic campaigns, where candidates at all levels issued a plethora of items associating their names with LBJ's. I have been able to identify only ten Goldwater coattail candidates who accounted for a grand total of just fifteen 1964 Goldwater coattail buttons.

The rarest Goldwater coattail is a jugate linking Goldwater with Henry Del Rosso, which was issued in New York's nineteenth congressional district in lower Manhattan. Although this district included Wall Street, only the adjoining eighteenth district (including Harlem) was more impoverished in New York. Given its low median income and polyglot ethnic composition, it is not surprising that the nineteenth sent Democrat Leonard Farbstien back to his fifth of eight terms in 1964. When he finally retired in 1971, he was replaced by the outspoken Bella Abzug in Congress. The 1964 defeat was the second out of three for Del Rosso, a 49-year-old insurance salesman. Although Del Rosso had done welfare work for many years, he had predicted at the outset of the campaign that "Goldwater will carry New York State with an avalanche of hidden and silent votes on election day." But the avalanche was a Democratic one, with Del Rosso losing to Farbstien by a margin of more than three to one. Another interesting figure in this race was Conservative party candidate Suzanne LaFollette, who asserted that she had not moved from the Progressive philosophy of her famous cousin "Battling Bob." According to Ms. LaFollette, "the world has moved to the left of me. I swear that if old Bob were alive today he'd support Goldwater."

Another former congressional candidate to create Goldwater coattail items was a Georgian. Although Goldwater and William Miller carried Georgia, only five Republicans challenged the Democratic monopoly over the state's ten congressional seats and only one—third district nominee Howard "Bo" Callaway—was successful. In the fourth district Roscoe Pickett, also a candidate in 1942, won just 43% of the vote against James Mackay. The Pickett campaign issued three button designs featuring the same slogan, "BACK BARRY, PICK PICKETT."

Two coattail buttons were also issued by the campaign of Representative Gene Snyder of Kentucky, a congressman from a suburban district adjoining Louisville. Snyder had taken office in 1962, was swept out of the Congress in the 1964 Johnson landslide, but has been re-elected from that district since 1966. He is considered the most conservative member of the Kentucky delegation.

Two celluloids and one lithographic button (with different color combinations) were issued in Virginia for the seventh and final Senate campaign of conservative Democrat Harry F. Byrd. Although Byrd ran nominally as a Democrat, his philosophy was much more compatible to Goldwater's than to Johnson's and Byrd, whatever his partisan affiliation, was first and foremost the staunchly conservative patriarch of the machine that had

dominated Virginia politics since the 1920s. Byrd was easily re-elected over two opponents in 1964, although Democrats in the Washington suburbs and Norfolk managed to carry the Old Dominion for LBJ. Byrd resigned in November, 1965, because of failing health and died a few months later. Upon his resignation his seat was filled by his son Harry F. Byrd, Jr., whose third Senate term expires in 1983.

Buttons shown  
60% actual size

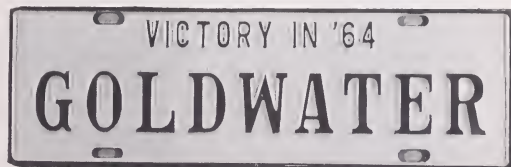
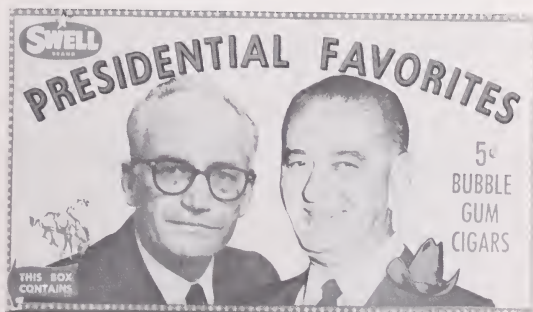


Goldwater did carry Virginia's conservative third district (Richmond and suburbs), but Richard Obenshain lost a very close three way race to Democrat David Satterfield III by 654 votes out of more than 126,000 cast. Obenshain earned the accolade "architect of Virginia's Republican party" for his diligent and productive efforts as the state Republican party chairman. Although he narrowly lost his 1969 bid to become Virginia's attorney general, he looked like a good bet to win the 1978 Senate election until he was killed in August in an airplane crash near Richmond. The Republican nomination then went to former Secretary of the Navy John Warner. The money of his first wife (a Mellon) and the celebrity of his second (Elizabeth Taylor) aided Warner's successful campaign. Satterfield retired in 1980 after being passed over for several committee chairmanships his seniority entitled him to, as a result of his ultraconservatism.

In a year when so many more conservative Republican candidates were avoiding their presidential standardbearer whenever he entered their states, liberal Republican Charles Percy came aboard the Goldwater campaign train for three joint whistlestop appearances in Illinois. Percy was young, handsome, and a very successful businessman (president of Bell & Howell from 1949 to 1961 and then chairman of the board until 1966, when he won a seat in the Senate). A protege of President Eisenhower, Percy was an effective party fundraiser and in 1960 served as chairman of the Republican platform committee. His views were much more liberal than Goldwater's. In 1964 he was a novice running in his first campaign, a race against incumbent Otto Kerner for the Illinois governorship. Kerner was re-elected in the Johnson landslide and Percy had to wait two years to begin his long stint in public office. In 1964 the Goldwater-Percy coattail button was distributed at the three whistlestops.

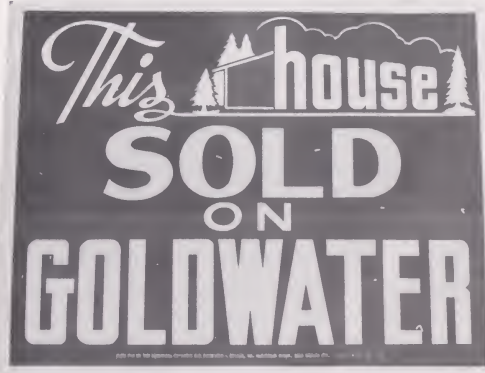
The Goldwater-William Scranton item was probably a Republican convention piece symbolizing what many party stalwarts regarded as the ideal ticket to counteract Goldwater's rigid conservatism and limited appeal. Scranton was serving as Pennsylvania's governor in 1964. According to Theodore H. White, Goldwater "yearned to have him as a Vice-Presidential running mate." After all, they were personal friends and had served together on NATO exercises five years before. A proven administrator with valuable experience in foreign affairs gained from a year as special assistant to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Scranton was an appealing figure with a beautiful wife, four handsome children, a genteel background, and rock-ribbed support among the eastern GOP establishment that saw Goldwater as a frightening alien. After Goldwater's victory in the California primary, Scranton confided to a television reporter that he would accept second spot on the ticket if Goldwater offered it. But Goldwater voted against the civil rights bill a few days later, an act that upset Eisenhower and sickened Scranton. Scranton then launched his own too-little-too-late bid for the Republican nomination, a futile challenge that estranged the two former friends for many years.

In California, movie song-and-dance man George Murphy ran against temporary incumbent Pierre Salinger for the U.S. Senate seat. Salinger had been President John Kennedy's press secretary and was appointed to the Senate in 1964 by California Governor "Pat" Brown upon the death of Senator Clair Engle (D). Senate minority leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania won his bid for reelection over Genevieve Blatt. Charles Doster ran for Congress in South Carolina and lost. Not pictured is a "Goldwater and Doster" brass-colored sheriff's badge (similar to Hake #81 for Goldwater and Miller). ★



VOTE  
GOLDWATER

REPUBLICAN  
MILLER



# MARK HANNA

## *Lord of the Great Lakes*

by Michael W. Meiring

More than any other man, Marcus Alonzo Hanna may be responsible for the structure of modern political campaigns. Indirectly at least, he could also be said to have been the father of our hobby. He came to national prominence as architect of William McKinley's election to the presidency in 1896. As Theodore Roosevelt once quipped, "He advertised McKinley as if he were patent medicine." Hanna and his lieutenants and an army of grassroots workers used pamphlets, banners, posters, celluloid buttons and studs (newly introduced in 1896), and other types of material to portray McKinley as the champion of the gold standard, tariff protection, economic growth, and national power. On the Saturday before election day 150,000 McKinley supporters (including Hanna himself) paraded up Broadway in New York City. As historian Thomas Beer described the scene in his 1929 biography *Hanna*, "The machine swept against the Democrats in an explosion of pamphlets, blue and gold emblems, placards and voices. . . . The city gaped at the monstrous production of so many well dressed men, so many gilded elephants, so many buttons, so much colored bunting. It was mass production, politically applied and it stunned watchers."

Hanna was born on September 24, 1837, in New Lisbon, Ohio. Much of his personality, business acumen, and interest in both machinery and politics can be traced to his early years in New Lisbon. It was a promising town. Hanna's family invested heavily in canals, but the railroads passed by New Lisbon and made canal travel obsolete. The family moved to Cleveland in 1852, where Hanna briefly attended Western Reserve College. He was a brilliant man, with an eclectic array of knowledge, not given to book-learning but splendid at practical engineering. From an early age, Hanna was fascinated by the mechanics of machinery, applying these principles to business and political management alike. He regarded money simply as the oil of life's machinery, once remarking, "Isn't it funny that money and machinery came into the world at the same time?" Although his straightforward, no-nonsense approach brought him great success, he was not always so blessed. Early in his business career he was left nearly destitute when a mill burned and an uninsured oreship sank on the same day! He became a partner in the coal and iron business of his father-in-law that eventually became M.A. Hanna & Company, a conglomerate of mines, shipping, shipbuilding, banking, street railways, newspapers, and even an opera house.

Despite his wealth, Hanna was not a snob. He saw no class or religious distinctions. He opposed the blatant anti-Catholic spirit of the late nineteenth century. He regarded the average worker as his political equal. Generous to a fault with his money, he paid the highest wages of any major American businessman and, as a result, almost never encountered strikes or labor violence. Once in Cleveland his streetcar lines stayed in operation while all competing lines were stopped by strikes. His advice to Roosevelt

during the great coal strike of 1902 that "any employer who does not meet his men halfway is a goddamned fool" was a tenet he lived by as a businessman. He despised fools of all sorts, once saying that "he would hire back a drunk three times but never a fool." On another occasion he remarked, "Up to his neck, a man's only worth the price of a day's labor." He saw politics and politicians in a similar light. He learned quickly that machinery ruled politics and money oiled machines. He viewed the eastern political machines oiled by Wall Street money with disdain, commenting scornfully, "Cheap machines cast up cheap men." Without ever becoming a politician, he became the ultimate political engineer.



Bicycle  
shown  
actual  
size

Buttons & ribbons shown 60% actual size.

Hanna's baptism in national politics came in 1880. He came to the Republican convention in Chicago supporting favorite son Ohioan John Sherman against the third-term bid of U.S. Grant being orchestrated by New York spoilsman Roscoe Conkling. Ohio Governor James Garfield, whose nominating speech for Sherman captivated the convention, became the party's darkhorse nominee after thirty-six ballots. Despite the conciliatory gesture of making Conkling crony Chester Arthur Garfield's running-mate, Conkling returned furious to New York and threatened to sit out the campaign. A compromise was finally worked out by which he agreed to come to Ohio on a speaking tour with Grant and Arthur if no meeting took place with Garfield. Hanna arranged transportation and schedules for this trip. In Warsaw, Ohio, the entourage spoke to a huge crowd and prepared to leave the state. Conkling was smug over his personal triumph of doing his duty to the party while still slighting Garfield until Hanna boldly walked up to Grant and loudly announced, "General, it has been arranged that we return to Cleveland by way of Mentor, and if you propose to stop there and see General Garfield, we shall have to start in a very short time." Conkling glared at this impertinent upstart but kept his silence, lest he appear to be dictating to Grant. "We will stop at Mentor," replied Grant. This incident brought Hanna to the national





Silk Cigar Box Band

spotlight, earning him the distrust of Conkling and his eastern allies but also marking the beginning of the end of Conkling's influence in national politics.

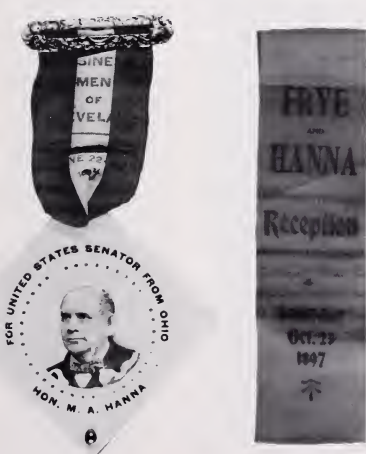
A midwesterner and something of a maverick in business and politics alike, Hanna was never fully trusted by the eastern Wall Street business establishment. Although he paid the highest wages, favored union formation, championed improved working conditions, and honestly believed that labor and business were partners in progress, Hanna was never fully trusted by labor either. Wall Street looked upon him as something of a prairie bumpkin, a "frontier millionaire," while the more militant laborites saw him as "Dollar Mark" Hanna, "the Lord of the Great Lakes." Theodore Roosevelt shared this distrust, almost to the point of paranoia. The two men were not a mutual admiration society, to say the least! Hanna thought of Roosevelt as "that damned cowboy" and when he learned of the Rough Rider's pending vice-presidential nomination he exploded, "Do you realize that there is just one life between that madman and the White House?" Roosevelt in turn feared Hanna as a Machiavellian figure coveting the White House in his own right. Until Hanna's death on February 15, 1904, Roosevelt spent much time scheming to head off Hanna for the nomination of their party.

William McKinley first attracted Hanna's attention in 1876 when McKinley courageously and successfully defended twenty-

three laborers indicted for rioting in Canton. When a series of labor riots erupted in Ohio as a result of the severe depression, Governor Rutherford B. Hayes called out the militia to quell them. As head of a mine operators' association, Hanna was charged with doing what he could to see that arrested rioters were convicted and punished. It was difficult to find an attorney for the workers in Canton, for the town was a bastion of hostility to unions (seen by many Cantonites as a conspiracy of labor backed by the Vatican and Russian nihilists). Placing his own congressional race in jeopardy, McKinley defended the men. Although Hanna was on the other side, he privately felt badly about "scab" labor and the use of the militia. To Hanna the miners were neither evil nor dangerous and McKinley's work on their behalf won his respect.

Hanna's attention moved away from business and local politics and gradually began to focus on making McKinley president. When his protegee won a second term as Ohio governor in 1893, he retired from business to devote himself entirely to winning the 1896 Republican presidential nomination for McKinley. He did so long before the delegates gathered in St. Louis in June, and he did so without the aid of Tom Platt, Matt Quay, and the other eastern state bosses. Promoting McKinley brilliantly as "Prosperity's Advance Agent" in the months before the convention, he was able to sew up the nomination without a single concession or debt to the eastern powerbrokers. With the nomination safely in hand, Hanna moved with equal adroitness to tie the campaign to the gold standard without driving silver Republicans or bimetallic ones into bolting the party. Keeping a secret of his own penchant for gold, he allowed eastern "gold bugs" to think they had won a signal victory with platform language endorsing the gold standard but leaving a vague possibility of bimetallicism through international negotiations! "No use wasting all that silver," he said. He left St. Louis with everything he wanted.

When the Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan on a free silver platform in Chicago, Hanna was quick to see silver and Bryan's image as a wild western radical as the Democrats' achilles heels and shrewdly exploited them, mainly among eastern moneyed conservatives, to amass an immense treasury to finance the most lavish and best organized presidential campaign in American history. There were funds aplenty for literature, posters, buttons, badges, and other material. Hanna set up McKinley headquarters in New York and Chicago. From them tons of literature warning against the silver heresy and lauding "sound money" and the protective tariff was sent to local headquarters throughout the nation. It has been estimated that 120,000,000 pamphlets (over 275 different ones, many of them translated into foreign languages) were produced at a cost of more than a half million dollars (\$80,000 for shipping alone). Instead of relying upon local Republican groups for campaign



materials, Hanna centralized the operation and controlled it down to the tiniest details. Almost effortlessly, he accomplished what campaign chairmen had dreamed of without success since before the Civil War, true centralized consolidation of a national presidential campaign.

Sensing that widespread fears of Bryan made the East secure, Hanna poured most of his money and attention into beating Bryan in the crucial Midwest. Many eastern Republicans, who tended to regard everything west of Buffalo as unimportant, worried over this strategy. Bryan's forces ran a rough campaign that included spreading rumors of Catholic influences on McKinley (despite the fact that Bryan literature used in eastern Irish areas referred to him as "O'Bryan" or "O'Brien"). To counter this some of the eastern bosses wanted the campaign to disavow endorsements of McKinley by prominent Catholics. An outraged Hanna stopped this scheme dead in its tracks. Silver really never had a chance, for the McKinley campaign was nearly flawless in execution. Hanna left little to chance, reducing the chaos of politics to the certainty of engineering. As Thomas Beer put it, "He had thrown a hundred thousand tons of advertising, buttons, and posters into the nation against Mr. Bryan's voice, bad logic, and good intentions." He made a president.

In the process, Hanna had made himself a legend, respected and hated simultaneously. Democratic viewers of the cartoons of Homer Davenport and other Bryanite cartoonists looked on him as "Dollar Mark" Hanna, a bloated, sinister figure with dollar signs on his suit and a dwarfish puppet McKinley in his pocket. The eastern party establishment viewed him far differently, of course, but no more benignly. Many political professionals, however, held him almost in awe. John Hay, for example, described Hanna as "the born General in politics, perfectly square, honest and courageous, with a *coup d'ceil* for the battlefield and a knowledge of the enemy's weak points which is remarkable."

After McKinley's inauguration Hanna remained his closest advisor. Refusing the post of Postmaster General because he believed that he was more needed to marshal support for the administration on Capitol Hill, he orchestrated John Sherman's appointment as Secretary of State and his own appointment to Sherman's seat in the Senate, where he soon developed a power base that rivaled even McKinley's. The two Ohioans soon had the administration staffed and (given the sudden economic upswing in 1897) fiscal problems in check just in time to turn attention to a growing threat of confrontation with Spain. Hanna flatly opposed war, but a majority of Americans (spurred on by enthusiasm for expansion and prejudice against Catholic Spain) disagreed. At dinner one evening Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, said to Hanna, "I hope to see the Spanish flag and the English gone from the map of North America before I am sixty." Hanna later observed, "Thank God we didn't put him in the state department; we'd be fighting half the world!"

McKinley's decision to go to war against Spain in spite of Hanna's misgivings defined the issues for his 1900 re-election race against Bryan, which Hanna again masterminded. The Democratic opposition to "McKinley imperialism" did not worry Hanna, for the East remained loyal to McKinley and the war against Spain was very popular in Bryan's western stronghold. McKinley's nomination was never in doubt, but the 1900 Republican convention did not go as well for Hanna as the 1896 one, mainly because of Theodore Roosevelt's selection over Hanna's protests as McKinley's running mate. Although the Rough Rider approached the vice presidency with reluctance, New York party mogul Tom Platt lobbied for TR strenuously (mainly because he wanted the reformist maverick safely out of the governorship).





Despite Hanna's vigorous objections, Roosevelt was too popular among the eastern bosses and rank-and-file western delegates to be headed off. Hanna left the convention in a huff. Rumors of his secession from the McKinley campaign precipitated panic on Wall Street, where he was unloved but seen as a bulwark against prairie radicalism.

Hanna soon cooled down, however, and went to work organizing the McKinley-Roosevelt effort. He believed that the Bryan issues of free silver, anti-trusts, and anti-imperialism were nonsense and personally carried that message into Nebraska and other Bryan strongholds in a series of public appearances. McKinley advised against the tour and nearly everyone was taken by surprise by it, but the public flocked to see in person the "fat man of the trusts" they had heard so much about. Arguing at every appearance that "combination is the life of business and politics" and necessary for efficiency and cheaper prices, Hanna drew exceptional crowds that went home impressed. He outdrew Roosevelt in Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota, and Bryan's Nebraska (which McKinley won in November).

Although money poured in much slower than in 1896, for eastern contributors were unworried by Bryan this time around, Hanna was no less lavish in the dimensions of the second operation. Headquarters were again established in Chicago and New York, from which buttons, pamphlets, and other materials were again distributed literally by the tons. It has been estimated that four million pamphlets were used in New York, 3,500,000 in Ohio, and 2,500,000 in Indiana. The campaign not only defeated Bryan more convincingly than in 1896, but also came in under budget. Hanna was able to return an unspent \$50,000 check to Standard Oil.

A chill seemed to form between Hanna and McKinley after the election, perhaps in part because many (including Hanna) felt that even the President did not hold the power Hanna had. The most powerful man in the Senate and no longer just an invisible man-behind-the-throne, Hanna freely confided to friends that he would not trade his power for the White House itself. Whatever might have come of this schism between McKinley and Hanna was cut short abruptly in Buffalo by a crazed assassin named Leon Czolgosz. Now that "damned cowboy" Roosevelt was president, and many political experts predicted that he would avenge Hanna's opposition to him at the 1900 convention. But these two proud and purposeful men were also astute realists who shared similar political values and needed each other. Roosevelt had no Senate spokesman and needed Hanna to keep the body in

line; Hanna understood that his own power depended ultimately upon a White House connection. Hanna survived, even perhaps gaining power and influence. The two men teamed up to support Roosevelt's plan for a canal through the Isthmus of Panama instead of Nicaragua. Although Tom Platt and other senators had made large investments in Nicaragua and commanded powerful support, Hanna pushed ratification of the Panamanian treaty through the Senate. Despite that and Hanna's subsequent support for Roosevelt's anti-trust initiatives, the Rough Rider never totally overcame his suspicion of Hanna's loyalty.

In 1902 Hanna led a Republican effort in Ohio that beat back a strong Democratic challenge. Speculation surfaced that Hanna was planning to challenge Roosevelt for the 1904 presidential nomination. He almost certainly desired nothing more than to secure the election of his friend Myron T. Herrick to the Ohio governorship and himself to a new six year Senate term in 1903, but he probably secretly enjoyed the discomfort Roosevelt felt over the rumors, for he did little to quell them. Re-elected easily to the Senate, Hanna became the recipient of more presidential speculation. Had he chosen to challenge Roosevelt, he might have made things interesting at the 1904 convention, for many of the southern delegates were federal jobholders who owed their positions to Hanna, but no evidence exists that he ever gave serious consideration to such a venture. The possibility came to an end, of course, when Hanna died on February 15, 1904. Roosevelt, who came to the presidency in 1901 through an act of fate, possibly retained the office in 1904 through another.

During his rather brief stint in the public spotlight Hanna inspired a rather substantial variety of material culture, pro and con alike. His Senate races inspired several nice ribbons and at least sixteen types of celluloid buttons and studs, a majority of them 1903 jugates pairing him with Herrick. In my opinion the premier Hanna button is the 1 1/4" red/white/blue/black Ohio Badge celluloid featuring a paraphrased Roosevelt tribute, "HE'S A GREAT BIG MAN, IS THIS POLITICIAN." Another superb Hanna item is the 1896 bicycle lapel pin (Hake MAC-230) featuring Hanna pedaling a bike with McKinley pictured inside the front wheel and Garret Hobart inside the rear wheel. That Hanna was a major campaign issue in his own right, both in 1896 and in 1900, is also shown by a 1900 satiric Bryan token with a Hanna caricature and the legends "TRADE MARK HANNA" and "IN HANNA WE TRUST" on one side and a dead GOP elephant slain by a lance inscribed "IMPERIALISM" on the reverse. Such mementoes convey only in part the strong emotions, cloud of controversy, and extraordinary importance of this Ohio kingmaker who played such a pivotal role in the modernization of American presidential campaign politics. ★

I would like to thank Brent Price (APIC #5768), whose Myron Herrick collection provided several Hanna items, and to extend a very special thanks to Kermit Pike and the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland. This collection, of which the outstanding collection of John W. Barclay (APIC #2) is only a part, contains a splendid assortment of McKinley items, some choice Hanna pieces, and other material—including a Cox-Roosevelt jugate—that makes it a "must" stop for APICers visiting Cleveland.

Michael W. Meiring



## THE LOCALS REPORT

# GENE TALMADGE of GEORGIA

by Preston Malcom

"The poor dirt farmer ain't got but three friends on this earth: God Almighty, Sears Roebuck and Gene Talmadge"

—Gene Talmadge

Eugene Talmadge held public office in Georgia off and on from 1926 to 1946, dominating Georgia politics as no other person has in the state's history. He appealed to the darkest fears of the Georgia "wool-hats," the lowest whites on the economic ladder—the fear that Negroes, the only Georgians more disadvantaged and destitute than they were, would rise up above them. "Wool-hats" felt threatened by Franklin Roosevelt, Atlanta, the federal government, and anything remotely urban or intellectual, and Gene Talmadge's power was rooted in his ability to lash out at these mythical targets.

Born in 1884 in central Georgia, Talmadge was not a product of the poverty that claimed almost all farming families in that region. His father Tom was a good example of Henry Grady's "New South," a diversified farmer who had been well educated. Devoted to capitalism and the Democratic party of the "Bourbon" planter and managerial class, Tom Talmadge was determined to have his children escape the drudgery of farming. Young Gene graduated from the University of Georgia, set up a legal practice in southern Georgia, and married Mattie Thurmond Peterson, a relative of South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond, and "Miz Mitt" to Georgians until her death in 1981.

While the postwar decade of the 1920s might have been one of unprecedented prosperity for much of the nation, to the Georgia farmer the decade brought financial ruin in the form of the boll weevil, an insect that meant disaster to cotton farmers and opportunities for politicians sufficiently shrewd to exploit the discontent that resulted. In 1920 Talmadge lost his first bid for elective office, a seat in the state legislature. In 1922 he ran for the state senate and won the popular vote, but lost the election as a result of Georgia's county unit system. Before it was ended by the Supreme Court's one man-one vote dictum in 1964, the unit system in Georgia assigned unit votes based on county population. Gigantic Fulton County (Atlanta and environs) six unit votes, but the smallest rural counties were given two unit votes. This meant that four small counties with a population one tenth of Fulton's would be more powerful politically. Until 1964 Georgia politicians had to bend to the wishes of the rural voters as a result. It is ironic that in 1922 the county unit system deprived Talmadge of a state senate seat, for throughout his career he championed the system as the sacred protector of rural Georgians against wicked Atlanta! He even used to brag that he never campaigned in any area of Georgia that had streetcars.

In 1926 Talmadge announced for the seat of agricultural commissioner, probably second in power only to the governorship in rural Georgia. He ran his campaign against

Georgia Power (the major supplier of electricity for the state), the faceless power brokers in Atlanta, and corporate oppressors of the poor in general, a host of enemies that would stay the same for the twenty years he reigned in Georgia. He was elected easily and two years later re-elected, defeating G. C. Adams, a state legislator and my grandfather. The Talmadge machine was now in place, with the *Market Bulletin* (a department newspaper) transformed into the house organ by which Talmadge transmitted his gospel to a farming constituency without radio.

After winning a third term as agricultural commissioner, he decided in 1932 to seek the governorship after the death of Senator William J. Harris prompted Governor Richard Russell to run for the vacant seat in the Senate. The 1932 gubernatorial campaign was probably the best of Talmadge's populist campaigns, a bid for office before racism came to dominate his appeal to the voters. He had been nearly impeached as agriculture commissioner as a result of a scandal involving stolen pigs, but he turned the incident to his advantage by planting supporters in the audiences to shout, "Tell us about them pigs you stole, Gene." Talmadge would reply, "They say I stole. Yeah, I stole. But I stole for you—you men in overalls, you dirt farmers." Wool-hat voters loved it, this steal-from-the-rich, give-to-the-poor theme, used so successfully by Tom Watson before him in Georgia, by "Pitchfork" Tillman in South Carolina, by "The Man" Bilbo and James Kimble Vardaman in Mississippi, and by Huey Long in Louisiana. Talmadge ran so strong that he won the Democratic primary without a runoff and faced no Republican opposition.

In 1934 he won re-election with a campaign that introduced the



This is the Year to  
**VOTE FOR**  
**EUGENE TALMADGE**  
for GOVERNOR



This Card Certifies that

is a member in good standing  
of the  
**Fulton County Talmadge Club**  
and will support Talmadge  
for Governor

HENRY C. DAVIDSON  
Secretary

- To Guide Georgia Through Dangerous Post-War Hazards
- To Fight Alien Subversive Elements in Georgia's Destiny
- For a Constructive Veterans Program
- For Increased Salaries for Teachers
- For a Constructive Road Program Including Rural Post Roads
- For Fair Treatment, Labor and Capital
- For a Democratic White Primary.


# EUGENE TALMADGE

Candidate for  
**Governor of Georgia**

A Man  
of  
Experience  
=====

Economical  
Administration  
=====

Payment  
of  
Teachers



Aid  
for  
Counties  
=====

More  
Pensions  
=====

Less  
Overhead

HEAR TALMADGE EVERY FRIDAY NIGHT OVER WSR, 8:30 TO 9:00 P. M. E. S. T.  
WILL SPEAK AT

## ROYSTON

(Franklin County)

# WEDNESDAY Sept. 4

3:30 P. M. Eastern Standard Time

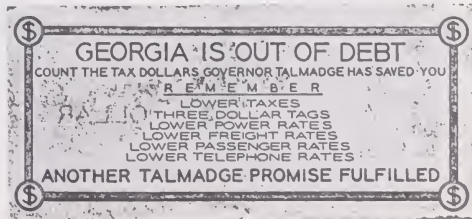
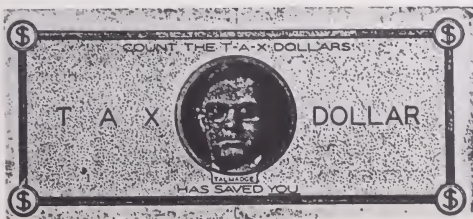


# LET'S KEEP TALMADGE

famous Talmadge red suspenders (a family campaign trademark through the 1980 defeat of his son, Senator Herman Talmadge) and identified strongly with Roosevelt's New Deal. His victory was massive, with Talmadge losing only three of Georgia's 159 counties. After the victory, however, he seemed to veer sharply to the right, declaring war on the labor movement in the state by sending troops to arrest strikers in southern Georgia. So many men were arrested that barbed wire had to be strung in fields to house the arrested. At the same time that Louisiana's Huey Long was breaking with Roosevelt (to the left, if Longism could be said to have had an ideological direction), Talmadge went the other way by severing ties with FDR over the New Deal's "socialistic programs." Although Long and Talmadge met several times, no coalition was ever formed. Long regarded Talmadge as a lightweight, once remarking, "Talmadge ain't got the brains to suit his ambitions."

In January, 1936, a convention of anti-Roosevelt Democrats was held in Macon, Georgia, with Talmadge the featured speaker. The convention called itself the Constitutional Jeffersonian Democracy and urged Talmadge to challenge FDR for the presidency, but only 3500 of the expected 10,000 delegates attended, most of them from Georgia. Talmadge wisely declined the challenge, instead deciding to take on Richard Russell for the Senate. In a campaign that was essentially a referendum on the New Deal, Russell and gubernatorial candidate Ed Rivers easily defeated Talmadge and his hand-picked candidate for governor, Charles Redwine. Talmadge was popular in Georgia, but FDR was next to God! When Rivers proposed a package of social and economic advances he labeled the "Little New Deal," Talmadge became convinced that all he had feared had now come to his state! In 1938 Talmadge challenged Senator Walter George, who had been placed on FDR's purge list for failing to support Roosevelt's 1937 "court packing" plan, but George easily survived the race against Talmadge and FDR favorite Lawrence Camp.

Georgians did not seem to want Talmadge in the Senate, but did not mind having him as their governor. In 1940 he defeated a lukewarm field by such a margin that he even carried Fulton County. During this stint in office he tried to fire a professor for



## HEAR TALMADGE

All Talmadge supporters are invited to hear Eugene Talmadge, who will speak tonight on the Ansley Roof Garden at 8 o'clock.



FULTON COUNTY  
TALMADGE-FOR-GOVERNOR CLUB

# LET'S KEEP TALMADGE

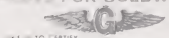
speaking in favor of school integration. When five members of the Board of Regents voted against this, Talmadge worked to remove them from office, violating the law protecting regential autonomy and causing ten Georgia colleges to lose their accreditation. As a result, Ellis Arnall defeated Talmadge for the governorship in 1942. Talmadge supporters regarded a vote for Talmadge as a vote for white supremacy, but a 50,000 vote majority of Georgians apparently regarded a vote for Arnall as a vote for accredited college education. The loss in 1942 was the third in four tries for Talmadge. It moved him even further to the right. His attacks on FDR became more vicious and his support for Roosevelt's war effort was lukewarm at best.

Although he was now a seriously ill man, Talmadge announced for his fourth term as governor in 1946. Embittered by his losing effort to purge the Board of Regents and his loss to Arnall, he made race the main theme of his 1946 campaign. He said during the campaign, "I was raised among niggers and I understand them. I want to see them treated fairly and have justice in the courts. But I want to deal with niggers this way—he must come to my back door, take off his hat, and say 'Yes Sir.'" Late in the campaign four blacks were lynched in Monroe, Georgia, and when asked to comment on the murders Talmadge's only statement was "regrettable." Opponent James Carmichael received 16,000 votes more than Talmadge, but the county unit

system saved Talmadge from defeat. Because of his poor health, Talmadge had his son Herman run against him as a write-in candidate in the 1946 general election, since Georgia law dictated that the runner-up in a general election would become governor if the victor died before being sworn in. Herman received more than five hundred write-in votes, a few more than primary loser Carmichael. There was no Republican entry. Shortly after the general election a vein burst in Talmadge's stomach and he died on December 21, 1946. Herman claimed the governorship, but so did newly elected Lieutenant Governor Melvin Thompson. Departing Governor Arnall refused to surrender the office until the courts settled the dispute sixty-seven days later by awarding the governorship to Thompson.

Eugene Talmadge's rhetorical support of the "little man" in Georgia never translated into economic gain. He left a state where two-thirds of all rural houses still had outside toilets and more than forty thousand did not have even those, where in excess of two-thirds of rural homes had no electricity, and in excess of seven thousand houses had no light source at all other than candles or a fireplace. His place in Georgia politics as the "great divider" was reflected in a joke that circulated as he lay dying—"Gene Talmadge was the only man in Georgia who could have the whole state praying at once—one half that he would die, the other half that he would live." ★

BILLS FOR GOLDWATER



IN HIS DISTRICT

BY SHOWING HIS SUPPORT TO FELLOW PILOT

BARRETT GOLDWATER

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

*Barry Goldwater*  
U.S. SENATOR, ARIZONA

Name

Street

City

"Many thanks for your support."

*Barry Goldwater*



## PRESS

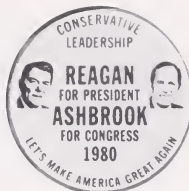
Goldwater-Miller  
1964 Campaign





IN MEMORIAM:**JOHN ASHBROOK**

by Michael Kelly



One of the lesser known presidential hopefuls in recent years died on the campaign trail April 24, 1982. Republican Congressman John Ashbrook of Ohio died from natural causes campaigning for a seat in the Senate.

Ashbrook sought the presidency in 1972 as a challenge to incumbent Republican Richard Nixon. Supported by such prominent conservatives as William Rusher and William F. Buckley, Jr., as well as noted right-wing journals like *Human Events* and *The National Review*, Ashbrook announced on December 29, 1971, that he would oppose Nixon in several Republican primaries to protest what many GOP conservatives perceived as Nixon's drift to the left. At the same time another Republican congressman, Paul ("Pete") McCloskey of California, was also challenging Nixon in the Republican primaries because he thought that Nixon was too far to the right.

Only in New Hampshire did all three meet, with Ashbrook taking third place with only ten percent of the vote. Nixon won seventy per cent and McCloskey twenty. Ashbrook went on to duplicate this showing with roughly ten per cent in the Florida

and California primaries. Both Ashbrook and McCloskey abandoned their campaigns long before the convention due to lack of support. McCloskey ended up with a single national convention delegate and Ashbrook none. Nixon went on to win renomination and a landslide victory over George McGovern in November. Both Ashbrook and McCloskey returned to their seats in Congress and decided this year to seek seats in the Senate.

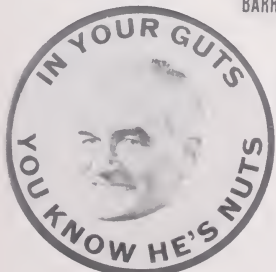
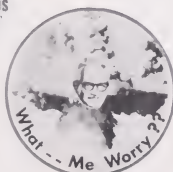
John Ashbrook represented Ohio's Seventeenth District since 1961. His father, William Ashbrook, had represented the same district in Congress as a Democrat for twenty years, serving in the House from 1907 to 1921 and again from 1935 to 1940. John Ashbrook was known for his scholarly conservatism and his willingness to defend unpopular principles. His 1972 presidential campaign produced a few legitimate items, particularly a button and bumpersticker utilizing the traffic sign for "No Left Turn." In 1980 his congressional campaign issued a Reagan-Ashbrook jugate button that seemed very fitting, for Ashbrook had paved the way for the conservative principles that found voice in Ronald Reagan. ★

**Ashbrook****Responsible  
Republican**

GOLDWATER IN 64

HOT WATER IN 65

BREAD &amp; WATER IN 66

BAN THE  
BOMB  
AND  
BARRYNO GENERAL  
STRANGEWATER  
FOR  
AMERICA $C_5H_4N_4O_3$   
ON  
AUGUST 20GOLDWATER  
FOR  
HALLOWEENHARI-KARI  
WITH  
BARRYGOLDWATER  
IN  
1864BURY  
GOLDWATER  
IN  
'64GOLDWATER  
FOR  
FUHRERBURY  
GOLDWATER  
IN  
64BURY  
BARRYI'M  
A  
"NERVOUS  
MELLIE"GOLDWATER  
FOR  
HALLOWEENGOP  
Born: 1856  
Died: 1964GOLDWATER  
FOR  
HALLOWEENBARRY  
IS THE LIVING END

Anti-Goldwater Items

SPECIAL  
FEATURE

# DEMOCRATS '82 PARTY CONFERENCE

by Joe Wasserman



DMC/1



DMC/2



DMC/3



DMC/4



DMC/5



DMC/6



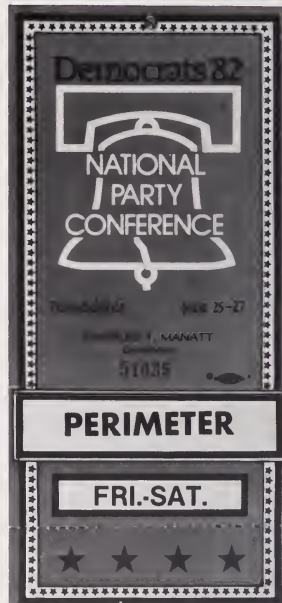
DMC/7



DMC/8



DMC/9



DMC/10

The Democratic Party Conference, popularly referred to as the Mini-Convention, was held in Philadelphia, Pa., on June 25 thru 27, at the Philadelphia Civic Center. Convened by the Democratic National Committee, the delegates met to discuss national issues and hear from the party's leading candidates for the 1984 Presidential nomination. A large number of interesting official, semi-official and vendor items were available, most of which are shown here. Notations have been made in the text to separate items leftover from previous functions from those newly-produced for this event. In the grand tradition of William Jennings Bryan, Ted Kennedy again made the most "stem-winding" speech, as he had at the 1980 National Convention. Yet, as with Bryan, many in the auditorium that cheered his speech as a clarion call for the Democratic Party, support other candidates for the nomination in 1984. In order to distinguish the Mini-Convention items from our regular Project 1980 numbering system, we will be using DMC/#'s. ★

## Descriptions

**DMC/1.** Each Mini-Convention delegate and replacement (alternate) received one of these 2 1/4" red, white, blue and gold celluloids in the official convention package. (DMC/47 is the non-official version.) The Item was manufactured by Capitol



DMC/11



DMC/12



DMC/13



DMC/14

Creative Group, Washington, D.C.

**DMC/2 thru DMC/9.** These eight 2 1/4" celluloids were also manufactured by Capitol Creative Group for the Mini-Convention. DMC/2 is red, white and black; DMC/3 thru DMC/9 are all red, white, blue and black.



DMC/15



DMC/16



DMC/17



DMC/18



DMC/19



DMC/20



DMC/21



DMC/22



DMC/23



DMC/24



DMC/25



DMC/26



DMC/27



DMC/28



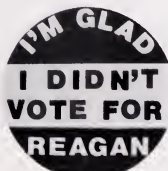
DMC/29



DMC/30



DMC/31



DMC/32



DMC/33



DMC/34

**DMC/10.** 7 1/4 " x 3 1/2 " credentials badge. Several dozen different cards were used at the convention in a variety of colors for different officials (VIP, Participant, Staff, Press, Guest, etc.) and permit areas (Perimeter as shown, Floor, etc.)

**DMC/11 thru DMC/15.** These five items were made for the Mini-Convention by APIC member Jim Warlick's Political Americana. DMC/11 thru DMC/14 are 2 1/4 " ; DMC/11 is red, white, blue and black; DMC/12 is red, white, blue and gold; DMC/13 is red, white, blue, black and brown; DMC/14 is red, white and blue. DMC/15 is 3 " red, white, blue and brown.

**DMC/16.** This 2 1/2 " blue and white celluloid was originally made in small quantity late in the 1980 Fritz Hollings (S.C.) Senate campaign. Hollings had raised a very large sum of money for his campaign and was sure to be re-elected. His opponent, during an interview, asked why he was doing so poorly in the polls, responded 'I've been Fritzied' (I've been buried by Fritz's money). This item was rushed, manufactured late in the campaign, and distributed by the Hollings campaign. Those that remained were given out at a breakfast for the South Carolina delegation at the Mini-Convention, hosted by Hollings. Hollings was extended an invitation to address the convention as a potential presidential candidate.

**DMC/17.** 2 1/4 " white on blue celluloid worn by Ohio delegates and guests.

**DMC/18.** 3 1/4 " x 2 1/4 " blue on white badge (paper under plastic) worn by Cranston Advisory Committee volunteers.

**DMC/19 and DMC/20.** These two items were manufactured by Capitol Creative Group for the Kennedy senate re-election campaign in Massachusetts and were brought to the Mini-Convention as giveaways. DMC/19 is a 1 1/4 " x 3/4 " tab made in large quantity; DMC/20 is a 1 1/2 " lithograph made in small quantity (for a lithograph).

**DMC/21.** 1 1/4 " gold/blue security item worn by Kennedy staff members.

**DMC/22.** 5000 of these 1 1/2 " white on maroon lithographs were ordered by the Mondale Campaign Committee and were distributed at the Mini-Convention. Manufactured by Capitol Creative Group.

**DMC/23.** 1 " blue one white security item worn by Mondale staff members.

**DMC/24.** 500 of these 2 1/4 " red, white and blue celluloids were manufactured by the Millenium Group almost two years ago (probably making this the earliest of all 1984 Mondale items) and





DMC/35



DMC/36



DMC/37



DMC/38



DMC/39



DMC/40



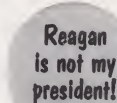
DMC/41

No nukes  
is  
good nukes

DMC/42



DMC/46



DMC/43



DMC/44



DMC/45



DMC/47



DMC/48



DMC/49

was sold at the Mini-Convention.

**DMC/25.** 2 1/4" white on blue celluloid worn by Florida delegates and supporters of Askew.

**DMC/26.** George Keefe, former top Senator Jackson campaign aide, ordered this 1 1/4" white and green celluloid for Robert Strauss. The button was distributed at the Mini-Convention to those Democrats who were not ready to make a commitment to a particular candidate.

**DMC/27.** 200 of these 2 1/4" red, white and blue celluloids were manufactured by Creative Capitol Group for the Mini-Convention delegates, guests and friends of Democrats Abroad.

**DMC/28.** This 1 1/4" red, white and blue item was designed by Marge Stanley, a Maryland Democratic party official, produced by Capitol Creative Group earlier in the year, and sold at the Mini-Convention.

**DMC/29 and DMC/30.** Marge Stanley's design of DMC/28 was so popular with party officials that she was approached by the Communication Workers of America and the Maine Democratic party to create these items. DMC/29 is 1 1/4" red, white and blue and was worn by union officials and union members at the convention. DMC/30, also 1 1/4" red, white and blue, was worn by that state's delegates and attendees.

**DMC/31.** This 2 1/4" red, white and black celluloid was also manufactured by Capitol Creative Group and sold in large

quantity following Ted Kennedy's speech. The no-nukes design had been used earlier in the year for anti-nuclear activities in the D.C. area.

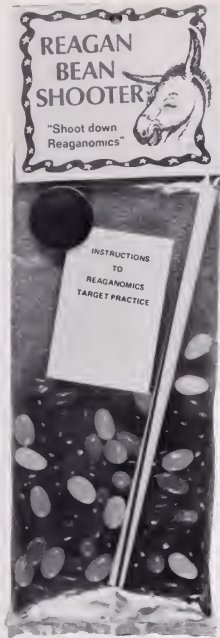
**DMC/32.** This 2 1/4" red, white and blue celluloid was also made by Jim Warlick's Political Americana, but as a general purpose Democratic political party button before the convention. It has been sold at many party functions around the country as well as at the Mini-Convention.

**DMC/33.** 2 1/4" red, white and black item sold for \$1 by College Democrats.

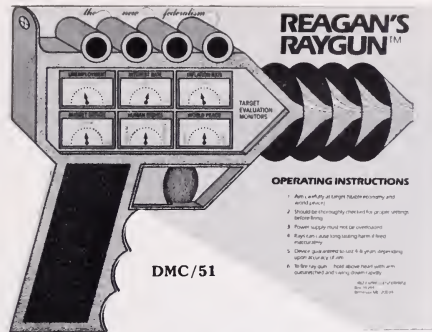
**DMC/34.** 2 1/4" red, white and blue item sold for \$1 by Young Democrats.

**DMC/35 thru DMC/45.** These vendor items were all made by Bill's Buttons, an independent company from Carlisle, Pa. Although sold at the Mini-Convention, they had been manufactured earlier in the year as stock catalogue items. The most popular of the group was DMC/41. DMC/35 is 2 1/4" white/blue; DMC/36 is 2 1/4" green/white; DMC/37 is 2 1/4" blue/white; DMC/38 thru DMC/40 all 2 1/4" red, white and blue; DMC/41 is 2 1/4" red/pink; DMC/42 is 1 1/4" red/white; DMC/43 is 1 1/4" black/yellow; DMC/44 is 1 1/4" red/white/blue; and DMC/45 is 3" red/white.

**DMC/46.** One of the more popular items at the Mini-Convention, this 4" green, black and white celluloid was made



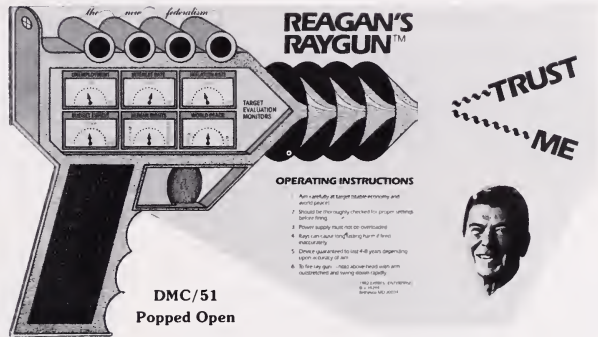
DMC/50



DMC/51



DMC/52

DMC/51  
Popped Open

prior to the convention by a local labor committee.

**DMC/47.** 2 1/4" red, white, blue and gold celluloid was manufactured by Capitol Creative Group. This item is similar to DMC/1 without the words "Official Delegation" on it and was sold at the conference.

**DMC/48.** Red, white and black 2 1/4" item appearing in both celluloid and lithograph form. The Acorn Commission, one of the few groups picketing at the convention, demonstrated for welfare reform issues.

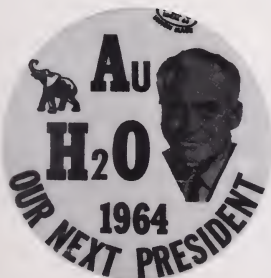
**DMC/49.** Made earlier in the year for Michigan Young Democrats, this 2 1/4" red, white and blue item was worn by members and guests of the Michigan delegation.

**DMC/50.** A popular novelty item sold at the Mini-Convention by

a California firm. The "Reagan Bean Shooter" comes with 4 ounces of multicolored jelly beans, a bean shooter, and instructions to shoot beans at pink slips, bankruptcy notices, student loan cancellations and other forms of Reaganomics.

**DMC/51.** "Reagan's Raygun" is a modern version of the paper "pop" gun used by advertisers in the 1930's and 40's. This cardboard toy was made by D.C. fireman Tom Lamay and came equipped with instructions to aim the gun at targets (stable economy, world peace, etc.) and fire by snapping the wrist downward. A sign pops from the barrel to read "Trust Me." Priced at \$4, it did not sell well.

**DMC/52.** This 2 1/4" red, white and blue celluloid was sold at the Mini-Convention. Same notes as DMC/32.





# NEWS

## BY—LAWS AMENDMENT PASSES 487—14



### American Political Items Collectors

INCORPORATED 1934

#### PRESIDENT

Robert R. Frutkin  
2111 Glen Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

#### SECRETARY-TREASURER

Joseph D. Hayes  
P.O. Box 340339  
San Antonio, Texas 78234-0339

June 1, 1982

Mr. Joseph Hayes  
1054 Sharpsburg Drive  
Huntsville, Alabama 35803

Dear Mr. Hayes:

The vote totals have been tabulated for the By-laws Amendment with the following results: For-487 Against-14. That is a 97% affirmative vote. The By-laws will now call for the election of APIC officers during odd numbered years and the terms of office of those officers presently seated to be extended until 1983.

Sincerely,

*Jim Henderson*

Jim Henderson  
Chairman, Tellers Committee

## APIC OFFICE MOVES TO SAN ANTONIO

APIC Secretary-Treasurer Joseph Hayes has accepted a position at the Brooke Army Medical Center in San Antonio, Texas. The official address for all APIC correspondence and membership affairs is now:

Mr. Joseph D. Hayes  
APIC Secretary  
P.O. Box 340339  
San Antonio, Texas 78234-0339

## NOTICE

DUE TO THE SECRETARY-TREASURER'S MOVE  
to San Antonio, Texas, there will not be a summer Roster update.

## Leon Weisel

The recent passing of Leon Weisel (APIC #317) has left a sharp void in the lives of his many friends and in the hobby he loved. We knew Leon as an invaluable counsel to both newer and experienced collectors, a vast storehouse of item and hobby knowledge, and an expert on his personal collecting area, political glass and china. To have seen Leon's extensive glass and china collection was a memorable experience.

Most of all, we will remember his strong sense of fairness and his belief in the honesty of his fellow collectors. Leon stood apart from other auctioneers in his willingness to send out items won before receiving payment. He used to boast that he had never had to regret this decision, and in only a very few minor incidents was he ever disappointed in his faith in APIC members. Leon was uneasy over the stratospheric prices on many "rare" pieces during the late 1970's and on many occasions counseled bidders not to chase certain pieces that he deemed outlandishly priced. This is a difficult path to tread, since the auctioneer must represent both the bidders and the consignors, but both groups respected Leon because of his inherent fairness. His auction was for many years the only outlet for many collectors wishing to consign very low-priced items. With the increase in printing, paper and mailings costs, not to mention the vast time expenditure required, these consignments have been rejected by most other auctioneers in the hobby, but not Leon. He felt that every member should be able to sell as well as to buy.

Those of us who have been in the hobby for many years realize how many mail auction rules and format characteristics which we now take for granted were first introduced by Leon. In all, his contributions were immense.

Whether you talked with him on the phone, met him at the many meetings he attended, or never knew him personally, many aspects of your personal collecting opportunities and your hobby were influenced by Leon Weisel. He shall be sorely missed.

—Robert Frutkin



## Book Sale

The Smithsonian Institution Press is offering copies of *Threads of History* by Herbert Collins, originally purchased at \$60.00, for a special price of \$29.95 through October. *Threads of History* has almost 1,600 illustrations of political and patriotic textile items, and has been called "a monumental achievement in the literature of political material culture." To order copies send check or money order for \$29.95 to the Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C. 20560.

**GOLD WATER**  
 BEST PRESCRIPTION **Rx** FOR ALL OF U.S.

平和チー  
**GOLDWATER-MILLER**

**LIGHT BULB JOHNSON**

**NO WONDER HE TURNED OUT  
 The LIGHTS in the WHITE HOUSE**

**LYNDON • BAKER • JENKINS**

The family that  
**PLAYS TOGETHER  
 STAYS TOGETHER**

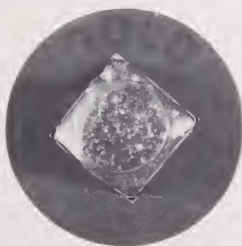
**CURES FOR  
 WHAT AILS  
 AMERICA**



**Dr. B.M. GOLDWATER'S**

THE NON-TOXIC, MAGIC  
 COLD WAR REMEDY

**GOLDWATER-MILLER**



**IN '64  
 GOLDWATER  
 FOR PRESIDENT**

**BARRY  
 GOLDWATER  
 FOR PRESIDENT**

**AO  
 H<sub>2</sub>O**

## APIC Post Card Project: 1964



## APIC MULTIGATE PROJECT

This state slate poster is from the personal collection of Governor Alf Landon.

## VOTE FOR ABLE LEADERSHIP

MEN WHO WILL SERVE KANSAS  
 WISELY—SAFELY—ECONOMICALLY



**REPUBLICAN STATE CANDIDATES**

Kansas 1932



# GOLDWATER

IMPORTANT — CUT OFF THIS INSTRUCTION PANEL BEFORE APPLYING. SMOOTH OUT MATERIAL ON IRONING BOARD OR OTHER PADDED SURFACE. PLACE TRANSFER WITH PRINTED (RAISED) SIDE DOWN. USE A MEDIUM HOT (COTTON) IRON AND FIRMLY PRESS. REMOVE TRANSFER PAPER AS YOU REMOVE THE IRON.